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for the purpose of providing against accidents, sickness, unemployment and old age. The mutual societies which have attained great importance in Belgium were first recognized by law in 1851. There were then two hundred of these societies with seventy thousand members. As a result of state encouragement, adopted about thirty years ago, these societies began to grow rapidly until in 1905 there were over seven thousand united into eighty-four federations. The French plan, on the other hand, entirely ignores the mutual societies already in existence in France, and M. Clerc argues that the plan adopted by the Chamber of Deputies in 1906 will have the effect not only of interfering with their further development, but also that the Belgian system is decidedly superior to the proposed French plan, first because less expensive, second because less bureaucratic, and third because less destructive of the spirit of individual liberty so pronounced in mutual societies. While written with the definite purpose of affecting the French legislation on the subject, the author is fair in his statements and gives a most excellent critical description of the Belgian institutions providing for various kinds of insurance for the working classes.

M. H. R.

NEW BOOKS

SCHOOLING, W. *Practical advice about life insurance*. Reprinted from the Daily Telegraph. (London: Constable. Pp. xiv, 182. 2s. 6d.)

PILOTY, R. *Der Versicherungszwang in der deutschen Arbeiterversicherung und die thesen des Dr. Zacher*. (Stuttgart: F. Enke. 1910. Pp. 32. 1.20 m.)

VIVIANI, R. *Les retraites ouvrières et paysannes*. Encyclopédie internationale d'assistance, prévoyance, hygiène et démographie. (Paris: Giard. 1910. 5.50 fr.)

Contains the parliamentary addresses of the French Minister of Labor in support of the old age insurance law of 1910.

Socialism, and Co-operative Enterprises

Twentieth Century Socialism. What It Is Not; What It Is; How It May Come. By EDMUND KELLY. (New York: Longmans, Green and Company. 1910. Pp. xv, 446.)

Socialists are generally agreed as to the essential elements of socialism which it is possible so to state as to receive the assent of substantially all socialists of standing in all countries. They

differ among themselves in regard to certain things added on to these essential elements. If one should go through the writings of leading socialists during the past twenty years, and make a catalogue of these non-essentials, it would be a very long one; and a careful study of modern socialism would reveal protracted and, at times, violent differences concerning these additions to what Schaeffle calls the quintessence of socialism. Many differences arise also in regard to the ways and means of attaining socialism, as well as in the spirit with which socialists advocate their program.

The essential elements of socialism as presented by Kelly, as well as other modern socialists, are four, viz.: Public ownership of the leading instruments of production; public operation of the great controlling industries of society; the distribution of income under social control; and, lastly, private property in the greater part of the wealth annually produced for consumption. The great aim is to secure for the workers the profits of capital and rent of land, and to bring about what socialists conceive to be justice in distribution. Kelly is a moderate; indeed, he is perhaps as conservative as one well could be and at the same time be a socialist. He is, as far as may be from adopting as his motto, "all or nothing," but, on the contrary, is willing to make every possible concession, provided it is compatible with socialism as he sees it. He does not want public ownership and operation to be exclusive, but to be dominant and controlling. The concessions that he, along with other modern socialists, makes to private property in land are noteworthy at the present time when the single tax agitation is gathering so much force. The results of prolonged discussions by socialists are seen especially in their conservative policy with respect to the small landed proprietor. Undoubtedly this is in part a question of tactics, but also it would seem in part a consequence of an insight into the fact that capital, especially in its mobile form, rather than land, is all controlling in modern society.

The author confines himself mainly to the elements of socialism, and looks upon discussions of free love, religion, etc., as something extraneous to socialism, which he regards as an economic program. In this he is quite right. When it comes to a question of ways and means he exposes himself particularly to criticism on the part of both socialists and non-socialists. He advocates a plan whereby guilds and trade unions are to take over modern

monopolized industries. He would have the workers of the Standard Oil Company continue their activity in the management of the oil business; but, of course, under social control. This plan is greeted, one might almost say with scorn by the secretary of the Fabian Society.

When it comes to a question of vested rights and the payment for them, Kelly become fantastical. He would treat owners differently in accordance with the especial economic merits and needs. Surely it would take more than Plato's king, as described in his picture of an Ideal Society, to weigh the economic merits and needs of the various classes of owners of the United States Steel stock and bonds. It would take a god. John Stuart Mill favors at least a more workable, if not a juster, plan when he maintains that we should keep faith with those who have acquired property under social guarantees and with the approbation of society, and work out all plans of reform accordingly.

Noteworthy in Kelly's book is his broad treatment, for he endeavors to look at socialism from the political, scientific, and ethical points of view, as well as from the economic. Certainly a strong presentation of socialism is made for those for whom his book was especially intended, namely, the general public. We must pay the author the tribute of "sweetness and light"; and this we are especially glad to do, as he now has left us, and as, according to those who knew him personally, he was a man of high purposes and lofty character.

A refutation of Kelly's book means a refutation of socialism in its essential elements. And for the refutation this brief review is obviously not the place. A criticism of this particular work would take up Kelly's treatment of competition, the strength of which he does not appreciate. It would take up his treatment of necessary hours of labor, in which, along with other socialists, he overlooks many essential facts; and, finally, such a criticism would surely have much to say in regard to the capabilities of improvement which are immanent in the existing social order.

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Why I Am a Socialist. By CHARLES EDWARD RUSSELL. (New York: Doran. 1910. Pp. 312. \$1.50.)

Mr. Russell has had a stimulating career as a reporter, traveler, special correspondent, poet and muck-raker, a career which